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ABSTRACT

The dramatic changes in Bulgaria's agriculture, labor structure, and demography caused by the establishment of socialism in the country in the mid-1940s have resulted in changing mechanisms of youth socialization. Industrialization and agricultural consolidation precipitated a rural-urban migration boom and a resulting higher education level, especially among the young. By 1975 only 15.3% of the people aged 15-29 both lived and worked in the villages. As family and village ties were severed, traditional patterns of socialization, labor education, cultural education, and political socialization were interrupted. New directions in moral education emerged to reflect the country's social progress and its trends toward the humanization of moral relations and the emancipation of moral choice from patriarchal and tribal stereotypes. In general, the realization of the personality in the entire working process and the overcoming of an alienated labor force have become the key objectives of socialist moral education in Bulgaria. The vital position of the young personality has been recognized through the increasingly important youth organizations, a significant element in the creation of new socialization mechanisms. Youth have been given an active role in the entire socio-economic life of Bulgaria. (Author/SB)

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MIGRATION PROCESSES AND MECHANISMS OF YOUTH SOCIALIZATION

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Early in this century a primitive and poorly concentrated agriculture prevailed in Bulgaria. Farm labour was distributed among the members of the family, the peasant being a petty landowner. Big landowners were almost non-existent. The village was the common type of community featuring stable rates of reproduction but was isolated to a major extent from the cultural life of the big city.

Table No.1

Bulgaria's Farms in the year 1926

arable land	/ number of farms
up to 20 decares	127578
from 20 to 50 decares	228867
from 50 to 100 decares	202768
from 100 to 500 decares	108503
above 500 decares	675

In seventy years - from the 1877 census till 1946, almost no change had been observed in the ratio of village:town population.

The big changes in the socio-economic and cultural development of the nation set in in the mid-forties when a new social and political system, the socialist one, was established in the country.

The socialist reform in the sphere of the national economy began with the industrialization of the country. In 1944, however, only 24.1 per cent of the population lived in cities,

a fact which preconditioned the major changes that were to alter the life of village youth and to open up new promisin prospects before them. In quite a short period, historically speaking, the migration movement from village to city had gained a powerful momentum. In only thirty years the migration rates soared up so high that the year of 1975 saw more than half the country's population settled in cities.

Table No. 2

The Population of the country in %

year	city	village
1887	18.8	82.2
1934	21.4	78.6
1944	24.1	75.9
1946	24.7	75.3
1965	46.5	53.5
1975	58.0	42.0

The changing of youth's social status in both city and village was of a law-governed nature and proceeded primarily from the changed nature of labour, the raised educational level and the active participation in the socio-political life of the country.

In 1946 some 80 per cent of the young people in the 15 - 29 age bracket lived in villages. This numerical superiority of village youth was rivalled by the somewhat higher qualitative stature of city youth.

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In the 1946-1956 period 300 000 young people migrated from villages to cities. Their level of education rose immediately which made the relative lagging-behind of village youth stand out ever more distinctly.

In addition to the above, the socio-economic changes the village had undergone, preconditioned a new internal structure of agricultural employment. The number of young workers in villages grew (20 per cent of all the village youth) as did the number of young people employed in villages (30 per cent of village youth). Besides, of the young people living in cities, 80 000 were working in the cooperative sector of agriculture, which betrays the existence of a strong link between city and village in Bulgaria. Agriculture is also a permanent feature of the economic face of the small country town in Bulgaria.

In the 1950-1965 period 500 000 young people migrated to cities, a figure which tipped the numerical balance in favour of city youth. Although the educational level of village youth grew in absolute figures, relatively speaking it continued to linger behind that of city youth - young people with primary education were still the prevailing part of village youth.

Labour in the village, too, had changed its structure. In 1965 young people constituted 20 per cent of the workers and employees of agriculture, 62 per cent of its higher-education specialists and 20 per cent of the permanently employed cooperative farmers.

In the 1965-1975 period young labour in agriculture dropped down drastically. While in 1965 villages had 431 000 young people employed in them, in 1975 the number was a mere

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209 000. In other words, if in 1965 every third young man in the country had been employed in agriculture, in 1975 it was every sixth. The migration, however, was not a simple village-to-city process. It also presented a kind of labour migration. The 1975 census revealed a high degree of daily labour migration from villages to towns - 130 000 young villagers commuted daily to their work in town.

Table No. 1

Relative Share (in %) of commuting migrants in the 16 - 29 age bracket (december 2, 1975)

LIVING IN	WORKING IN	#	%
city	city	84,000	13.1
city	village	79,000	11.6
village	village	104,000	15.3
village	city	342,000	60.0

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Among the young commuters the relative share of men was higher than that of women. These were mostly young people of relatively low level of education and qualification.

The migration boom which came as a natural result of the process of industrialization in our country raised the serious questions of reproduction in the first place and of young people's professional development in village, in the second. The necessary economic prerequisites for the successful solution to these problems have already been set up.

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Organisational reforms in agriculture passed through three basic stages. In the first stage, which was completed in the sixties, the petty private plots were merged into larger units, the production of which was made to fit regional peculiarities.

The second was a stage of combining and enlarging the farms to fit the higher capacity of sophisticated farm machinery and modern agrarian technology.

The third was a stage of the agro-industrial complexes - a qualitatively new form of economic organization, which has inaugurated the era of further deepening of productional specialization and concentration, of industrial methods in agriculture and its management. Agriculture and the processing industry became organically integrated, as did agriculture and the food indu stry, the farm machinery industry and scientific servicing of agriculture.

In 1979 conurbation systems were finally established as socio-economic and administrative units. The boundaries of the agro-industrial complexes were re-tailored to fit those of conurbation systems.

As a result of the above-mentioned reforms in the socio-demographic characteristics of youth, the mechanisms and factors of youth socialization in both city and village, too, are undergoing changes. The objective preconditions for ironing-out the major differences between the village and the city having been created, the formation of a new youth morality is assuming specific significance, a morality which on the one hand will reflect the reforms and on the other - the requirements of the new stage of socio-economic development of the country.

SOCIAL TARGETS

The building up of the advanced socialist society is characterized by a general acceleration of the rates of social progress. Under the conditions of dynamic socialist development, multilateral and diverse changes are taking place in the process of youth socialization, especially in the sphere of morality, which, needless to say, have had a specific imprint on the younger generation. The more important of these are:

- change in the meaning of moral values
- change in the nature of moral solutions (greater individual freedom)
- change in the scope of moral solution
- change in the mechanism of formation of moral values

The social aims in the process of education are directly connected with the basic trends of moral progress.

Humanization of moral relations. It stands out with a heightened emphasis on the value of human personality and its dignity, with the growing significance of individual liberties, and the overcoming of alienation to be achieved through the liberation of human relations from the fetishism of objects, from the barriers of private ownership and other prejudices.

Emancipation of the moral choice. The conventional system of moral norms is poor as far as situations are concerned. Under these conditions the individual decision can be replaced by patriarchal and tribal stereotypes - stereotype are the situations themselves. Today young people grow up with new and broader ideas of freedom of the moral choice which make it possible for them and even require from them an independent action.

Moralization of social relations. Moral motives and stimuli are assuming a growing significance in social life's basic sphere - the economy, because of labour there becoming ever more demanding and creative with the advance of the scientific and technological revolution and also in the poltical sphere in connection with the development of democracy in the spirit of socialist principles. The advance of this process reveals the major role played by moral motivation for the man of the future - in both the sphere of creative labour and politics, and the role of moral stimuli as an effective tool in promoting further progressive development of society.

These general trends have triggered profound changes in the content of moral relations and moral qualities which are manifested in different social activities.

The basic trends of the moral development point also to the general and principal directions in which efforts should be concentrated for proper moral education at the respective historical stage. The socialist society, marching resolutely on the road to its maturity and all-round progress has formulated its tasks in the sphere of education in keeping with the basic trends working in moral progress.

Socialist moral progress is characterized by a number of basic transitions:

In the sphere of labour - from the abstract industriousness typical for the petty commodity economy ("it is better to work for nothing than to idle about for nothing" as the saying goes), and from the indifferent attitude towards labour combined with an increased interest in pay, typical for the capitalist society ("it is not important what you do but what you get"),

to the growing weight of moral stimuli proceeding, among other things, from the wish to fulfil one's dreams, to assert one's personality and to develop one's talents. This realization of the personality as we call it, concerns not only the nature of labour, but also the organization of labour, the socio-psychological atmosphere in the working team, the participation in the management of production, etc.

In the sphere of the family - the transition is from self-asserting through joint economic activity or economic dependence and biological reproduction , to the development of the personality in terms of love and an aesthetic relationship.

In the sphere of public life - from conformism born of profound indifference ("what's the use of politics") to active positions on the problems of social development, to great public initiative.

We regard the overcoming of alienated labour and the assertion of the personality in the working process as a key line to be pursued in the sphere of socialist morality. The reformed nature of labour has had a direct effect on the family life as on public life.

The formation of morality is a crucial, an essential point in the socialization of the younger generation. Parents seem to have grasped this, though, somewhat instinctively. The empiric study "The Family as a Factor of Education" revealed that the question of "What is the basic trait you have cultivated in your child" has been answered by parents with such moral qualities as "love of labour" - 62 per cent in the first place, to be followed by "love of the people" - 52 per cent, "good moral education" - 44 per cent. Far down

in the list are such answrs as "wide cultural interests", " a harmoniously developed nature" or "world outlook". Parents are quite explicit as to which are the qualities they would have liked to see in their children: in the first place this is "industriousness" - 76 per cent, then "honesty" - 74 per cent, "optimism" - 49 per cent, "frugality" - 42 per cent, "a will to serve the cause of human welfare" - 36 per cent, " a practice sense" - 26 per cent, etc. Much more interesting is however to compare the parents' answers with those of their children to the same questions. Asked "Which is the quality you most admire in your parents?", most of the children have answered their "industriousness" - 69 per cent, followed by their "care for the family" - 51 per cent, "honesty" - 42 per cent, etc. It may appear at first glance that the wishes of the parents have been fulfilled. Parents have wished to see their children grow up as honest and labour-loving people through their own example and their children are respecting them for exactly this quality of theirs. Actually, howver, a historical change had modified the very meaning of the word industriousness.

The Bulgarian people have a centuries-old tradition in their attitude to work. Traditional moral pattern has established industriousness as a supreme virtue. Industriousness, however, was valued regardless of the type of work. The simpler the production process, the easier it was to measure the industriousness of the worker with the quantitative gauge. The more complex the production, the greater the significance of efficiency and quality of work. The moral principle of "abstract" industriousness is thus getting out of date. The

attractiveness of work is nowadays assuming greater moral significance.

From this point of view the socialist social objectives should be differentiated from the "simple reproduction" of the virtue of industriousness. The new society needs a high quality production, a rejuvenation and reformed traditions.

With the efforts now being concentrated in the achievement of higher quality and greater efficiency, the attitude to time as a moral problem, is assuming particular importance. And what is more, not merely in the individualistic and mercantile sense of the phrase "time is money".

The implementation of social targets is proceeding under specific conditions. It is of prime importance to understand them, for it is the conditions which determine the efficiency of the educational efforts not only by restricting or stimulating, but also by basically modifying the traditionally established mechanisms of moral education.

Social Conditions

In the formation of the moral relations and patterns of the younger generation in our country, an exceptionally great role was played and is still played by such powerful social processes of the socialist construction as are:

- the urbanization and the migration boom;
- the industrialization which entailed a professional boom furthered by the advance of the scientific and technological revolution;

- the cultural revolution with the rise in educational level and spread of the mass media
- the revolution in the way of living

The Urbanization was a direct result of the powerful migration processes flowing primarily from the villages to the towns, from the small country towns to the county centres and from all kinds of towns to the capital. The movement from one inhabited place to another is not a simple mechanical process of movement of certain groups of people. It has been prompted by the changes that took place in the conditions and the way of living of these people, having also a direct impact on the links between the generations, on the growing and upbringing of the younger generation. Researches have revealed that almost 90 per cent of the people who had migrated under the pressure of socio-economic conditions, had been within the age bracket of 16 - 34. Thus the young man breaks away from his family, from all his relatives and neighbours, from his natural environment which has up to then been influencing him with its moral norms and values. In this way the migration boom covers radical reforms in the traditional mechanisms of socialization and education and requires the establishment of new, more effective mechanisms of spiritual growth for the younger generation.

Another powerful and basic process is the industrialization, which has since the beginning of the sixties coincided with the transfer of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution into practice. Similar to many other countries, our country took up the scientific and technological re-

volution in a historically short period without having completed her conventional industrialization. Naturally, this led up to inevitable difficulties, the burden of which had to be borne by the younger generation. These were mostly the reconstruction and the new dynamics of the professional sphere. At present young people constitute 30 per cent of of the working class with their proportion being particularly big in the most progressive branches of the economy, such as: the electronic industry - 48 per cent of all the workers, mechanical engineering - 38 per cent, the chemical industry - 37 per cent. Almost 68 per cent of the machine-operators in agriculture are also young people. A re-qualification is going on in which new skills and working habits are acquired and professional requirements are modified because of the more complex nature of work today.

In that connection the change in the very attitude towards profession should be noted. The attitude is as to a thing chosen of one's own free will once and for all. Professional permanency depends also on the way of thinking, on the individual mentality. The requirements of the scientific and technological revolution may happen to be at adds with an individual mentality, thus destroying traditional concepts. Its inherent dynamics, the constant development and the introduction of new scientific and technological achievements into practice, require a flexibility in the attitude towards the profession. As a result of this a new range of problems arise directly concerning education and the progress of the younger generation. The following fact comes to testify to the above:

while in the past the majority of the young people used to choose the profession of their parents and occupations were thus transmitted from one generation to another, nowadays, as the data of the sociological survey "The Moral Education of Youth" reveal, only 16 per cent of the young people have shown a preference for the profession of their father and a willingness to follow it themselves, and only 9 per cent have shown a preference and a wish to take up the profession of their mother. For their part only 24.2 per cent of the parents say they felt content with their profession and would therefore liked it to become the profession of their children as well.

Here again we are facing the familiar situation of reforms, of destruction of the old and the creation of new links, this time in the professional sphere. This requires the replacement of traditional mechanisms of labour education, professional orientation and preparation by one ones taking into consideration the newly-created social conditions and re-assessing them from a moral point of view.

In the course of thirty years this country has been undergoing profound reforms in cultural life, which have had their immense impact on the development of the young personality.

Young people are in a possession of a higher educational status, which, naturally, makes the acquisition of cultural values easier for them and also makes it possible for them to take an active part in the creation of cultural values. The social result of this is young people's better positions in the sphere of culture.

The wide gap in the educational level of the young people and their parents is an illustration of the dynamic development of cultural life. And what is more this gap is not only a quantitative one. Different are the requirements, and different is also the content of education. The functions of education, too, have changed and a number of social structures have been affected by these changes. At present education is called upon to give not only knowledge but professional skills as well and to contribute to the formation of an aesthetic taste, etc.

The differences in the educational level of generations raises more problems - there have appeared human relations of a different, of previously known type in the working teams, in organizations and the family.

The results of the sociological researches into the moral pattern of the younger generation demonstrate that young people nowadays see in their parents less of the ideal type of personality, than the previous generation had done. And what is more, the inexorable facts and figures have revealed that there is almost no difference in the degree of parental idealization on the part of village youth, youth from small country towns, from county centres and the capital. Thus for instance the ideal type of personality is identified with the father in 54.4 per cent of the village youth, in 50.5 per cent of the young people from small country twons, in 47.9 per cent of the young people from county centres and in 44.9 per cent of the young people from the capital. The forms of communication and the relationship between the generations, too, have changed. It often happens that parents learn from their schoolchildren

more than their children have learnt from them. This signifies one more destruction of the traditional mechanisms of handing over of social experience thus promoting a greater role for the social institutions and organizations in the sphere of education.

In the years of building up the new society in our country one more root reform has taken place - a revolution in the way of living. General electrification, modern flats, household appliances have all helped the establishment of a new pattern of living. The world of objects surrounding people has changed, as has the relative share of communal services.

Man suddenly found himself surrounded by helpful commodities. Thus preconditions have arisen for man's liberation from the psychological dependence on objects, preconditions for the cultural ascent of man and the development of socialist consciousness. Along with this , however, a danger came into being that the accummulation of objects may become an end in itself, even when objective preferences were at hand for the eradication of the material roots of the proprietary psychology.

With the appearance of this new wealth of objects there appeared also the need of a new aesthetic culture, of a new aesthetic taste. This means a change in the aesthetic criteria as well.

If we sum up the above survey of the social conditions, we can state for sure that the dynamic reforms that throughly changed the pattern of social life, have triggered problem situations in the sphere of moral education.

Social Solutions

The tearing of the old ties and the lessening efficiency or even dying down of the traditional mechanisms of socialization and education , have led up to a problem situation out of which there are two ways:

- the creation of a moral "vacuum" in which the new conduct of youth can find a breeding place;
- the creation of new ties and socializing mechanisms

That is why the efforts made in our country for the maximum use of the advantages of socialism in the sphere of moral education of youth, were consistently conducted under the principle of education through social commitment, through individual contribution. An organization equivalent of this principle is the youth organization possessing as it does, broad social powers. This gives rise to the necessary preconditions ensuring an optimum combination of the active concern for the young people with the activity of youth itself. This approach makes it possible for the assertion of social norms and values to coincide with the self-assertion of the young personality, with its realization in life. It is not hard to see that this approach is a thorough negation of the numerous concepts, which in spite of their pluralistic multitude, are subjected to the narrow-minded understanding of youth as an object of social impact alone. It is well known fact that in these concepts even the very notion of "socialization", which actually represents the social demands to the new generation, is being comprehended as a passive perception of the existing social norms and values. These concepts treat youth

as an object of impact alone, manipulating it and advocating conformity which is actually a screen behind which stretch the immense internal distances between youth and social problems.

The depth of social reforms in Bulgaria, the inevitable wearing out of the patriarchal, petty bourgeois and other social and psychological remnants, the transformation of some and the dying out of other factors affecting the younger generation, have actually brought about an objective rise in the role of the youth organization in the country. In it the young man establishes contacts with his coevals, finds ways of developing his talents and interests, gets easily adapted to the conditions. The active and vital position of the young personality is a basis and centre of the education of youth. Youth's active position in the settlement of social problems, its participation in social control and in the entire social life of the country is a proper foundation for successful educational work. This is plainly seen in young people's active participation in the development of the national economy and its most promising branches, in the improved forms and ways of work in the youth organization, in the mass brigade movement and in the unfolding of a large-scale social movement of technical and scientific creativity of youth. The processes and covered and governed by the youth organization which has an amateur character and is assuming an ever growing importance as a factor in the self-assertion of young people.

This approach is already yielding favourable results in the villages as well. The youth organization, taking into

consideration the peculiar features, the demands and the interests of young village people, has worked out a wide-ranging programme for the improvement of conditions and the organization of labour and cultural life in the villages. A number of original forms corresponding to the modern requirements of the youthful way of living have been developed. Their translation into practice is based primarily on the initiative of the young people encouraged by the social organizations and institutions.

Thus a trend is taking shape which is capable of "re-directing" the traditional sociological interest in the migrants: In the 1978-1979 period alone 3 432 young men and women, mostly of city background, took up agricultural jobs. One of the functions of this group, which is of special interest to village sociologists, is to act as an accelerator for the process of raising the social homogeneity in Bulgaria.

APPENDIX

Table No. 4

Relative share (in %) of the economically active young people (up to 29 years of age) as against the total economically active population in economic branches (December 2, 1975).

Economic Branches	City	Village
Industry	35.5	35.5
Building	32.8	29.3
Agriculture	22.3	19.9
Forestry	25.2	24.9
Transport	31.4	31.0
Communications	32.8	28.8
Trade, material and technical supply and purchase	31.1	29.8
Other branches of material production	28.0	38.0
Housing and communal industry	27.8	24.6
Science and scientific servicing	28.4	30.0
Education, art and culture	25.2	33.4
Healthcare, social insurance and physical culture	26.4	27.1
Finance, credit and insurance	31.2	38.4
Management	26.3	27.4
Other branches of the non-production sphere	23.9	30.3
Other branches	19.4	25.1
TOTAL:	31.3	26.4

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Table No.5

Migrating Youth

in economic activity and

in economic branches in %

Economic Activity Branches of the national economy	Relative Share
Economically active	48.9
in	
Industry	14.8
Building	2.9
Agriculture and Forestry	14.1
Transport and Communications	2.7
Trade, material and technical supply and purchase	3.6
Other branches of material production	0.0
Housing and Communal industry	0.6
Science and scientific servicing, education, culture and art	4.4
Healthcare, social insurance and physical culture	2.0
Other branches of the non-production sphere	3.5
Other branches	0.2
Economically non-active	51.1
T O T A L:	100.0

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Table No.6

Daily Commuters (in %o)

(December 2, 1975)

Daily Commuters to	Daily Commuters Coming from: cities	villages	total	Economically active youth acc. to place of living	Rate of Growth	Economic. active youth acc to place of work
Cities	30	136	166	833	+110	943
Villages	26	35	61	473	-110	363
Total	56	171	277	1036	0	1306

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